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she may perhaps best be considered temporary owner until her children are old enough to control the house for themselves.

In theory, the adopted child inherits only from his adopted parents. If it should happen that the adopted child is the only child or the only surviving child of his blood parents, by arrangement he may also share in the coconut lands and other property of his blood parents.

PRODUCTION OF WEALTH

Division of Labor

462 The division of labor is based primarily on sex, and to a minor degree on age. Table 2 shows the division of work between men and women. The division is fairly rigid in the sense that it is rare for a woman to go deep-sea fishing, or for a man to have much to do with talo preparation.

Table 2. Division of Labor

Work of Men	Work of Women	Joint Work
Fishing for all fish	Beach angling, lagoon groping, shell fishing	Torch fishing (occasionally)
Bird snaring Canoe building Making of tools, implements, nets, weapons, artifacts, ornaments		
Building house framework House thatching		Making roof sheets of coconut or pandanus
	Plaiting of mats, mats, etc. Planting, cultivation and harvesting of talo	Plaiting of rough baskets and platters Fertilizing of talo beds Excavation of talo beds
Preparation of pigs for cooking	Cooking of talo, pigs, fish	Water carrying Care of pigs and fowls
Making of food divisions		
Gathering and husking of nuts	Gathering of nuts by young girls (occasionally)	
	Husking of unripe nuts Domestic household duties	Training and care of children
Control and guarding of reserves	Guarding of reserve (Lolo, modern)	
Political and priestly duties		
Practice of medicine	Practice of medicine (occasionally)	

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pane*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yiluanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yiluanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te yiluanga-e nono i te ngutuwale o Mea" (the people of the *yiluanga* residing in the private house of So-and-so). The word *ngutuwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yiluanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *ngutuwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katoli*, *macinga*, or *poligali*. *Katoli* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

Membership in a village (*fala*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau ia Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Generally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuunga tua*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuunga tua*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

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The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngaki's supplies of crabs).

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In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they normally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuunga tua* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*mai tuunga tua*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

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The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

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The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

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A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5-5, age) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuunga tua* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuunga tua* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

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The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

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Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food division, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contact teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *mito* of the

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Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama te taha*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama te taha*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 35 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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period, organization was in terms of either uma or *yolongo* units. Village membership is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of matrilineal or patrilineal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nofo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old matrilineal or patrilineal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either matrilineal or patrilineal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malaua*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the patrilineal (*yolongo*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the patrilineal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of matrilineal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the matrilineal and patrilineal lineages. At the present time, the patrilineal lineage is much more important in social organization than the matrilineal grouping. The matrilineal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the patrilineal lineages and with the villages. The smaller matrilineal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but matrilineal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the matrilineal lineages alive. The fact that the matrilineal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the patrilineal groupings. At the present time, the patrilineal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both patrilineal and matrilineal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

Kennedy (1931, p. 297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The matrilineal lineage in Pukapukan also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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613 might walk behind her provided they showed her the respect due her status
643 by walking with uplifted palms.

The life of the *mayakitanga* seems to have been monotonous. No man ventured near her sacred house, let alone dared to sleep with her, even if he could. Any trespass against her house or her person was punished by the gods of her lineage with sickness and death. When she came from her house to bathe, all the men retired either to their houses or to the bush, and she bathed in privacy with her guardians. Only when she went abroad to show herself or to go to the sacred enclosure was it permissible for the populace to be about her. A *mayakitanga* had no choice but to be a sacred maid, once she was dedicated, until she died. If she outlived the chief who made her *mayakitanga*, she was still treated with every respect. The new chief might appoint a new *mayakitanga* from his own generation, and there were then two sacred maids living in the special house at the same time. The older sacred maid might, with the passage of years, informally retire from her position. She never married, though she might participate more in the everyday life of the community.

Informants have no knowledge today of special religious duties of the *mayakitanga*. Her special function was to act as a prestige symbol for the chief and his lineage. She was considered a great "pet" of the lineage, *e tokoamarama te mayakitanga* (beloved was the sacred maid). It was a great
613 honor for any girl to be chosen as *mayakitanga*. Though no ordinary
643 woman might set foot in a voyaging canoe, the presence of a sacred maid in such a canoe was greatly desired:

502 When a big deep-sea voyage was made by members of a lineage, the sacred maid accompanied the voyagers as an honored passenger. The priests of the lineage consulted the gods of the lineage beforehand and received permission from them for the sacred maid to join the expedition. The sacred maid apparently possessed no special technique by which to calm storms or avert other dangers. Her beneficent presence in the canoe evoked extra efforts from the god of the lineage to protect his subjects. Having given permission for her to go in the canoe, the god of the lineage was honor bound to protect her from danger, and thus also the crews of the canoes. She was the symbol of the power and dignity of the lineage, and the protection accorded her also embraced the men of her lineage. As a proof of this, informants said that the voyages undertaken by Makwera lineage without the protection of their sacred maid all ended in disaster, whereas the voyages of Matanga lineage, invariably made with the sacred maid, were always successful.

SUCCESSION TO CHIEFLY TITLE

613 Title to chiefly rank descended in known paternal lineages, subject to veto
643 by the people of the lineage:

597 The line of descent was from father to son. Where there was no direct male issue, the title lay dormant until male issue appeared or else it passed to a brother of the late chief, or to an adopted son (*ao hoketi*) of the late chief, who was his brother's or sister's son. Adoption always provided an heir, if there was no male issue. A woman

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never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yoma*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yoma*) round the neck of the successor and the *toumaea* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief.

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613 643 173 773

Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakunyika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakunyika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakunyika could find a champion (*toa*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The test was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakunyika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act in her stead. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *hupe* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear close and with a superhuman sweep picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left undisturbed. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shattering with his heavy leaf blows it reached the ground.

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592 aunts. It happens that their father-in-law has, until recently, been the acting Catholic missionary and may thus have wished to hold them with him in the new faith. Another daughter and daughter's husband sleep in the same household, but cook and eat with the husband's mother, that is, patrilocally, on another lot.

The widow in household 16 who lives in her deceased husband's house is considered the owner of the house which she has inherited from her husband.

Household 43 is anomalous in being composed of a man and his divorced wife's sister, her husband, and children. This woman and her family resided with her sister and her husband before their divorce, and have since continued to reside there through personal choice. The lot of the father borders on that of the parents of the woman's husband, and the whole household shares a cook house with household 44 next door, in which the mother's brothers are deceased.

The group composing household 49 sleeps in one large house and is considered a complete household, although the cook house is shared with household 50, where there is no senior wife and where the junior wife has only recently come to live.

The mother (household 51) living alone represents a further anomaly. This woman is a spinster of about 35, who has little prospect for marriage. Her parents are deceased, and she lives in a house built for her in Yato by her relatives. She sleeps in this house, but eats in neighboring houses wherever her services are for the moment required. Part of the time she lives with relatives in Ngake.

General observation of the households indicated that their composition remained relatively stable. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, and weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Personal choice may also dictate a new arrangement, especially changes due to conflict with the majority 591 members of the group. There is nothing in Pukapuka resembling the Samoan freedom whereby children, as soon as they walk, change their residence and feeding houses among the larger kindred grouping according to personal whim. In Pukapuka, the residence of children away from the household of the blood parents is accounted for by definite sociological mechanisms, such as adoption or weaning. The only exception noted is a little girl who eats, works, and lives during the day with her blood parents, but sleeps, apparently by preference, with a friend of her own age in the house next to that of her blood parents.

592 The 54 households included in the census have a total membership of 162 348 people. This gives an average membership of 6.44 persons per household. Omitting the anomalous household in which there is only one member, the average for 53 households, with a total membership of 347, is 6.5 persons per household. The variation in numerical composition of the households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	18
Number of households	1	2	9	5	5	7	7	6	4	2	3	1	1	1

592 Households with a numerical membership of 3 to 8 persons account for 557 72.3 percent of the total number of households.

In an attempt to work out the effect of adoptions on the numerical com- 162 position of the household, 32 households were studied in which adoptions

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592 occurred, both of feeding children (*tama mangai*) and of children "cut off" (*tama koloti*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household:

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162 In these 32 households there is a total of 48 *tama koloti* and 10 *tama mangai*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 5 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 32 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household composition nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

591 Informants gave patrilocal residence as the rule for marriage. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choices and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilocal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilocal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilocal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people coming under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilocal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilocal residence is made clear. Accurately to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

591 Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing
592 clearly between matrilocal or patrilocal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilocal or patrilocal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

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591 derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should
592 not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second,
612 from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*kokoti*,
591 to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*uungai*, to feed). The adopting
613 parents are *matua kokoti*, the child *tama kokoti*. Complete adoption usually involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua uungai*, the child as *tama uungai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father *is* adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal
613 motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his
261 patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for taro beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

597 Of the total of 340 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (23.9 percent)
162 have at some time been adopted by the *kokoti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a gener-
591 ation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama kokoti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama uungai* living with their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama uungai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama kokoti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reasons for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama kokoti* is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has mean-

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while died and it is presumed that this child will continue indefinitely to live with his own parents while being considered a member of the adopting father's lineage. In a third case, the reason is the illness of both adopting parents. In another, the adopting father is a very old man, unable to care for the child. He had previously also adopted the child's father, who lived with him as a boy. A further case did not involve a change of residence on the part of the adopted child because the adopting father is the husband of the child's maternal grandmother, with whom the child's unmarried mother lives. The reason given in two other cases is the death of the adopting parent or his wife. In the remaining five cases, involving eleven *tama kokoti*, no explanation could be offered by informants, though it is likely that the personal preferences of the blood and adopting parents were deciding factors.

Generally the *tama kokoti* is adopted before birth:

When a couple decides to adopt, they go to the selected parents at the time the mother is about three months pregnant. They say: "We wish to adopt this child as a *tama kokoti*," and then specify whether the sex of the child will make any difference. The blood parents discuss the matter with the paternal and maternal grandparents and with their bilateral kinship groups, to see if there is any objection to breaking a descent line, or whether any other friend or relative has a prior claim on the child. If agreement is reached, the adopting parents are informed, and from this time on they are required to feed the pregnant mother with the best of foods and to make special provision for her family whenever there is a food division.

The child's birth takes place in the house of the blood father, unless the house of the adopting father is close by, in which event delivery may take place in that house. Both adopting parents are present at the delivery as a matter of course, because of the fiction that it is really their child that is being born. All the relatives of the adopting parents make a point of being present for the same reason. It is the adopting group that renders all the necessary assistance to the parturient woman. The blood father and relatives may also be present, but only as onlookers who take no part in the confinement proceedings. After the child's birth, the adopting parents continue to be responsible for the mother and for the child. They provide the birth feast and the names for the new child.

Thereafter the mother nurses the child, who remains with her exclusively until time for weaning. Food gifts to the mother continue throughout the feeding period. At weaning, the adopting parents take formal possession of their child. A small feast marks the handing over; the adopting parents make gifts of valuables, pearl-shell hooks, canoes, etc., to the blood group. This completes the adoption, and henceforth the child lives with the adopting parents. The blood parents give up all control over the child, and the child in turn assumes all the duties and responsibilities of its position as *tama kokoti* to the adopting parents.

As distinguished from a *tama kokoti*, the feeding child (*tama wangai*) goes without ceremony to live with the adopting parents, who feed him. He helps his feeding parents, and brings to their household the food shares he receives from the village divisions. The relationship begins when the child is sent to relatives to be weaned:

Through a mixture of personal and economic motives, relatives may decide to keep a feeding child with them. The matter is discussed with the blood parents and decided upon, usually an easy matter, as no change of lineage membership is involved. The child remains a member of his home village. If he is taken by relatives in another village, he brings to this household foods in which the adopting village is deficient. Thus the adopting parents participate in a supply of food that would otherwise be denied them. If the adopting parents come to favor the feeding child, they make arrangements to turn

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597 the feeding relationship into a permanent *kokoti* relationship. This is done by mutual arrangement with the blood parents and is accompanied by a renaming of the child by the adopting parents.

The method of adoption before birth is a favored one. The adopting parents desire to have complete control of the adopted child, not only complete social control, but complete control also of the child's affections, if they are childless. Further, if the adopting parents are two generations removed from the child, they need assurance that he will not desert them in their old age. A divided loyalty in the child would be fatal to the complete success of the security desired. Nevertheless it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the adopting parents a chance to test out the capabilities of the adopted child.

597 An additional occasion for adoption may occur when a man marries a woman who already has a child by another man. If the husband expresses 848 the desire to adopt and it is agreed on, the woman's child is adopted into the lineage of the husband and becomes his *tama kokoti*. Where the woman has conceived either by the husband or another man before marriage, the husband is considered the sociological father to the child born after the marriage, and the problem of adoption does not arise.

597 A tabulation of the relationship of the adopting parent to *kokoti* and *aonga* children is possible from the census material (table 6). Clearly, the range of possible relationships is well nigh infinite. Note, however, the outstanding and comparative importance of father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father as the adopting parents. Almost equal in number are adoptions by maternal and by paternal relatives.

Adoption may be complicated by the exchange of adopted children and by the giving of adopted children as presents to another lineage. One interchange of children of close friends in adoption is recorded:

> Two men, Lepuuma and Tiela, are cross cousins. Lepuuma adopted as *tama kokoti* the son of Tiela. Tiela in turn decided to adopt from Lepuuma. He contracted for Lepuuma's next infant, which he thought would be a boy, to be handed to him as soon as it was born. A fair exchange of this nature is of children of the same sex, so that the status of the two families as regards continuity of descent is the same before and after the exchange. To Tiela's sorrow, Lepuuma's child was a girl, but he stuck to his bargain and took the child.

597 The exchange is termed *yoani* (gift), *yoani mai* (to receive in exchange), 431 or *yoani atu* (to give in exchange). The interchange emphasizes a sentimental tie between two families, and ensures that neither side shall suffer by the gift relationship. Where the exchange is not carried out on one side, valuable gifts—fishhooks, a piece of land, a group of nut trees, or a section of privately owned taro beds—help to reestablish the status quo as regards the two families. Such a return gift is also called *yoani*. The practice of

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577 431 giving a material gift in exchange for an adopted child is more common than interchange of children for the reason that it is the childless couples which are more likely to adopt in the first place.

Table 6. Relationship of Adopting Parent to Child

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Adopting Parent	Child	
PATERNAL	KOKOTI	WANGAI
1. Father's brother	4	-
2. Father's sister's husband	11	6
3. Blood father (not married to mother)	2	-
4. Paternal relative, detail lacking	1	1
Father's paternal relative:		
5. Father's father	3	-
6. Father's father's sister's son	1	-
7. Father's father's brother's son	1	-
8. Father's father's brother's daughter's husband	1	-
9. Father's father's sister's husband	1	-
Father's maternal relative:		
10. Father's mother's sister's son	1	-
11. Father's mother's brother's son	1	1
12. Father's mother's sister's husband	1	-
13. Father's mother's husband	2	1
14. Father's mother's brother	3	-
15. Father's mother's paternal relatives, detail lacking	2	-
Father's adopted paternal relatives:		
16. Father's adopted father	1	-
17. Father's adopted father's daughter's husband	1	-
18. Father's father's adopted son	1	-
MATERNAL		
19. Mother's brother	8	1
20. Mother's sister's husband	4	-
21. Mother's brother's friend	1	-
22. Maternal, detail lacking	4	-
Mother's paternal relatives:		
23. Mother's paternal relatives, detail lacking	11	-
24. Mother's father's mother's husband	1	-
25. Mother's father	6	1
26. Mother's father's sister's husband	1	-
Mother's maternal relatives:		
27. Mother's mother's brother	1	1
28. Mother's mother's husband	1	-
Mother's adopted maternal relatives:		
29. Mother's adopted father's son	1	-
30. Mother's adopted mother's adopted son	-	1
Totals	77	14

591 613 The census records three examples of adoption of *tama kokoti*, the adopting parent then giving the child (*hove to tama*) to another paternal lineage not the parents' own.

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597/613 To repair a break in the patrilineal line, one man who had himself been adopted out of his father's lineage adopted his sister's son, whom he gave to the lineage of his own blood father; one father who is adopted into a lineage not that of his own father has given his own son back to the lineage of his father, the child's paternal grandfather. In the first case the child lives with his adopted father, his maternal uncle, and is considered the *tama kokoti* of that man, but at death he will go to the cemetery of the adopted father's blood father. No ceremony accompanied the gift adoptions.

A woman has adopted a *tama kokoti* from her own relatives, and her husband has adopted a *tama kokoti* from his own relatives. They have arranged that at death the maternally adopted child is to be buried in the cemetery of the father, the paternally adopted child to be buried in the cemetery of the mother. The exchange is called *yawi*, and is apparently a type of gift motivated by sentiment. Some informants explained the matter as being, in some obscure manner, a double payment (*uai tutaki*). [583] It is evidently a special personal arrangement. It took place some years ago, after a unique elopement to a distant sand bar, where the couple remained hidden from the searchings of an irate husband. It is possible that special circumstances, coupled with the fact that the wife is barren, governed the exchange of children.

597/613/611 In complete adoption, the paternal descent group of the adopted child is regularly changed to the lineage of the adopting father, unless he arranges to give the child to another lineage. The matter is somewhat different as regards the change of maternal descent line (*aa*) of the adopted child. The cultural theory is that adopting parents have the right to change the maternal lineage of the *tama kokoti* to that of one of the adopting parents. Some informants thought the change should be to the lineage of the adopting mother. If the *tama kokoti* is a girl, according to these informants, her children will all belong to the maternal lineage of the adopting mother, unless at the time of the adoption an agreement is made with the adopted child's blood mother that some of the *tama kokoti's* children will revert to the blood mother's maternal lineage. In this agreement covering the adoption, the number of children and their sex who are to revert to the blood mother's lineage are specified so that no confusion later arises. Census material, however, includes three adopted children (in households 3, 5, 6), each a female, who became members not only of the adopting father's paternal lineage but of his (not his wife's) maternal lineage as well.

Two of these adopted girls are still unmarried and have no children. The third (household 3) is a widow whose own daughter, never adopted, is a member of the mother's own mother's maternal lineage, and not of the mother's adopted (father's) maternal lineage. Here the effect of lineage change is purely temporary, a matter of added membership to the father's maternal lineage during the adopted child's life. This enables her to share in the food and land divisions of the adopted lineage, but it will not by itself add to the vitality of the father's maternal descent line. That her children revert to the maternal lineage of their maternal grandmother requires the break of one generation in that line of descent.

In theory, if his maternal lineage is dying out, a father may adopt one of his blood daughters into his own lineage. In this event, an arrangement would be made such that half of her children would continue to belong to the father's maternal lineage, while the other half would revert to the

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maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama kokoti* or *tama wangai*, and *matua kokoti* or *lave* or *matua wangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama kokoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by petting the child when he visits them, by saving choice titbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralise on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

KINSHIP

Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterising avoidance

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that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

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The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. 299.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

605 881 867

The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become sociological adults (*waheatanu* and *waheawaine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

605 597

When the adopted (*hakoti*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *hakoti* child is in the "as if" relation of blood child to the adopting parents.

605 The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Eliu and Lotea (p. 259):

> Lotea is some years older than Eliu. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotea to cross the road one day to the rear of Eliu's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Eliu retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Veti, Lotea's husband,

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overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka* tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko, but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)

That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship (*payi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

The men of Pukapuka, organized on the *matakoua* basis (p. 374), went out in canoes to meet the boat. The *yiliyili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.

Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *apuaoliwuli* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

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fants but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grizzles and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Pukotu are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Liaki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Liaki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Liaki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Liaki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Liaki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Liaki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Liaki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Liaki all over again. Timuana (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his youngest brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Liaki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 29% of the individuals in one generation-extension. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-

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597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before
[431] its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
653 They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning.
851 This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 practise of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents
577 in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to envision, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to restore blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 Lino (7-ch, the adopted child of Mere and Lehua, comes back to Mere's house from working
169 in the bush with Lehua, eats some food, throws off his k'upen and then starts to walk down the
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village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him. She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be intrepreted in terms of a deep-seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unsmiling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mats" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and bury its pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing small pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

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577 child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He
154 spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

859 Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immedi-
169 ately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

864 Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

864 Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan
831 children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are
513 pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older
864 children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an
839 effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

864 Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record de-
521 tailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their
849 being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a
831 kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as revealed in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

[illegible] Humor.

Loite, the matakivikivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko pupu wua i latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

597 Adoption.

593 Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from
159 school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaimau. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mate (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka's thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

814 Introduced toys and games.

177 Marbles, pei, are made from wetau wood, and are about 20 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Kohuti te ala, and the stake marbles, tuku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te pei ki lunga ko te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tore [?] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble is puta. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
626 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obedience was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

622 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

778 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
783 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [582] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [848] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

Lua is 34 years of age. She is friendly, intelligent, and capable. She was one of our best informants, and her honesty is unquestioned. 1/5

LUA'S STORY

My parents, now deceased, were members of Loto village. I was their first child, born in 1902, when they were both fairly young. Four children were born subsequently but all died. My parents never adopted other children. I was adopted soon after birth by an old couple who had also adopted my father when he was a boy. I lived permanently with this couple from the time when my adopted mother weaned me. I learned at about the age of five that they were not my real parents. No one, as I remember, told me of the fact of my adoption, but on those occasions when my real parents took me to their house for a day I noticed that they treated me differently from my adopted parents. They seemed much kinder to me and much more loving. In some way I must have sensed the situation. I cannot say now very definitely how they treated me but I must have been gradually impressed by something or other. Later on, other children commented to me on the way I was going to my blood-parents and then I was certain. I was always happy to see them. 159 [165] [597] 159 593 597

Shortly after this my adopted father died. I felt pity for my adopted mother thereafter, but I really longed to be with my blood-parents. My adopted mother was uniformly kind to me. The old lady was specially solicitous about me whenever I got into quarrels, and always sought out the one who injured me in childish squabbles and scolded her soundly. This was quite noteworthy, because other parents were not so concerned for their children and let them get on with their companions as best they could.

My visits to my blood-parents became infrequent and continued so until the death of my adopted mother which occurred when I was about 12 years old. I remember the death-scene and the mourning-wake, but it was just like other wakes and I cannot remember my feelings at the time. After this I returned to live permanently with my blood-parents. Then it was that the last child was born to my mother. I remember this. I with other children stood 159 593